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THE QUESTION OF THE ETYMOLOGY OF *DUNADD*,
A FORTRESS OF THE DALRIADIC SCOTS



RICHARD A. V. COX

Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, University of the Highlands and Islands

RICHARD LATHE

University of Edinburgh

§1 INTRODUCTION

The origin of the Scots/English name *Dunadd*,¹ a former centre of the Dalriadic Scots (Bannerman 1974;² Skene 1876 II, 229–30), presents a puzzle.³ Evidence for the pronunciation and appropriate spelling of the modern Gaelic form of the name and its relation to historical forms and to more recent variants is presented below, together with an outline discussion of a number of topographically plausible, but linguistically problematic, derivations.

§2 THE TOPOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

The initial element *Dun-* (from OG *dún*; ScG *dùn*) – denotes a fortification on an outcrop that rises out of the flats of Crinan Moss (ScG *A' Mhòine Mhòr*) on the Kintyre peninsula (NR 836 935). This outcrop was first occupied around 300 BC – with habitation through to the 4/5th century AD when further fortifications were constructed (Lane and Campbell 2000a; 2000b) – and was fortified until at least the 8th century. The *dùn* remained a focus for ceremonial activities as late as the 16th century (Lane and Campbell 2000a).

Sea-level changes indicate that the *dùn*, having already been named, was an island or promontory in Crinan Bay (Lathe and Smith 2015) and that the local River Add was then only a local inflow to the estuary. The outcrop itself retained insular or promontory status until c. 460–770 AD and estuarine waters may have been present as late as 1,000 years ago (Lathe and Smith 2015).

1 Generally spelt *Dunadd* today, while Bannerman (1974, 16) uses the more traditional form *Dun Add* (cf. *Dun-Add*, Gillies 1906, xxii) in acknowledgement of its structure perhaps. Of note, earlier OS maps distinguished between the name of the *dùn*: *Dun Add*, and that of the adjacent village: *Dunadd* (e.g. OS 25 inch, Argyll and Bute, Sheet CLX.3 – Kilmichael Glassary – 1873). Variant forms of the name include *Dunnad*, *Dunnod* and *Dounaid* (Lane and Campbell 2000a) and *Dunad* (*OPS* II, 48).

2 After Skene, it was generally accepted that Dunadd was the chief seat of Cenél nGabráin; Bannerman (122–13), however, after Watson, argues that Dunadd was a Cenél Loairn stronghold.

3 As it was to Kenneth Jackson (1983, 231): '... in Dunadd and Dunollie, first mentioned in the late seventh century, the second elements are obscure.'

§3 EARLY DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The fortification is recorded as (gen.) *Duin Att* (683 CE)⁴ and (acc.) *Dun At* (736 CE)⁵ in the Annals of Ulster (AU; Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983), and as (acc.) *Dun Ad* (736 CE)⁶ in the Annals of Tigernach (AT; Ó Corráin 1996); no other geographical feature in Britain outwith the immediate vicinity appears to bear the name form *Ad*, *At* or *Att*.⁷

§4 SCOTTISH GAELIC /ad/ [aː]⁸

Watson's guide (1926, 45)⁹ to the modern Scottish Gaelic pronunciation of our name implies final /aːd/ [aːt̪], with a half-long vowel, which, in Michel Byrne's edition of George Campbell Hay's poem 'An Ceangal' (Byrne 2001 I, 104), is interpreted as *Dùn Àd*, with long /aː/ [aː]. In his original edition,¹⁰ Hay in fact uses the form *Dùn Ad*, without lengthmark, although this is not conclusive evidence of a short vowel because it was published before lengthmarks on capital letters became the recommended norm in Scottish Gaelic.¹¹ The poem's metre, however, indicates a short vowel:

*Seadh, chaith mi mo thìom 's mo dhìcheall ri dàin, fhìr chòir,
gan snaidheadh 's gan lìomhadh sa bhinn chainnt is àrsaidh glòir,
an Dùn Àd a thug binn, is an Ì a rinn cràbhadh fòil,
a labhair mo shìnsre 's na rìghrean an Sgàin o thòs. (Byrne, loc. cit.¹²)*

4 *Obsesio Duin Att*. Anderson (1922 I, 191 note 3) gives *Duin Aitt* in error, perhaps genitivising *Att* by virtue of the following *obsessio Dúin Duirn* in the same annal entry. *Att* is already in the genitive after *dún*.

5 *obtenuit Dun At*.

6 *obtenuit Dun Ad*.

7 Note also *Dunad* for *Dùn Athad*, Islay (Thompson, 1824), for which see §8. *Dunnet Head*, Caithness, with stress on first syllable, appears to have a different basis: 1223–24 *Donof* (Sutherland Charters, in *OPS* II, 788); 1275 Prebenda de *Dunost* (*Bagimond's Roll*, 51, though the MS possibly has *dunofc*); 1276 Ecclesia de *Dunost* (*Bagimond's Roll*, 69) – with thanks to Simon Taylor for these references.

8 Because of the similarity of name forms below, both phonemic and phonetic transcriptions are given.

9 'with a tendency to long *a*; it is pronounced as if it were spelled *Athd*', i.e. [aːd̪].

10 Deòrsa Caimbeul Hay, *Fuaran Sléibh* (1948), 54.

11 Recommended in the Gaelic Orthographic Conventions 2005.

12 'Yes, I have spent my time [and my greatest energies on poems, dear man], | chipping them and polishing them in the sweet speech of ancient utterance, | that delivered judgement in Dunadd, and that practised quiet piety in Iona, | the speech my forefathers spoke, and the kings in Scone from the beginning.' (*ibid.*).

This is not atypical of Hay's fondness for elaborate ornamentation, with internal and end rhyme¹³ as follows:

Fig. 1

Line	[a]	[i:]	[i:]	[a:] + stressless vowel + [ɔ:]
a	<i>caith</i>	<i>thìom</i>	<i>dhìcheall</i>	<i>dàin, fhìr chòir</i>
b	<i>snaidheadh</i>	<i>liomhadh</i>	<i>bhinn</i>	<i>àrsaidh glòir</i>
c	<i>Àd</i>	<i>binn</i>	<i>Ì</i>	<i>cràbhadh fòil</i>
d	<i>labhair</i>	<i>shinnsre</i>	<i>rìghrean</i>	<i>Sgàin o thòs</i>

Clearly, *Àd* here should read *Ad* in order to rhyme with *caith*, *snaidheadh* and *labhair*.¹⁴

Watson (ibid.) draws a distinction between the Gaelic pronunciation of the name of the *dùn* and the name of the river: 'At the present day, as I am informed by competent authorities, the river is locally *Abhainn Ad*, with no final *a*, and without the article', and the distinction between a short vowel in the river name and a half-long vowel in the *dùn*-name makes it, in Watson's view, 'more than doubtful' whether it is justified to assume, with Skene, that the two names cannot be separated from each other, concluding that 'we may safely leave the river *Add* out of the account'.

On the contrary, because of their proximity to each other, it seems likely that the two names are indeed connected, but that the river was named in association with the fort, long after the fort itself was named (§2, above). Furthermore, Watson's distinction between the pronunciation of the river and fort names is reconciled by noting that sporadic lengthening of short to half-long, sometimes long, vowels is found in the Gaelic dialect of the area.¹⁵

It might also be noted that a Scottish Gaelic form **Àd* (with a long vowel) should have made the folk etymology (*An*) *Abhainn Fhada* 'the long river' (with

13 In the form of assonance between (usually first-syllable) stressed vowels.

14 The metre is borne out in the second stanza: *Thèid sibh, a dhàin, thèid gu dàna, gun fhiaradh ròid, | ag èigheach 's gach àird rim luchd clàistneachd fìor chiall mo cheòil: | 'Troimh cheusadh is sàrach nan Gàidheal tha 'n dian fhuil beò, | is cha trèig iad an làrach gus an smàlar a' ghrian fo-dheòidh.* ('You will go, poems, you will go boldly, not looking aside on your road, | crying to my listeners in all the airts the true meaning of my music: | "Through the crucifixion and trials of the Gaels their fervid blood lives on, | and they will not forsake the field of battle till the sun is blotted out in the end."').

15 E.g. *na bi fada!* [na bi f̥ɑ.ɖə] 'don't be long!' (*LASID* IV, 227: Mid-Argyll, s.v. *ruith*); see also Cox 2010, 77–82.

a short vowel) less likely (§5, below), although folk etymologies frequently fail to observe phonetic realities. In addition, an original short vowel is likely to be understood in Dick and Bannerman's *Dùn Ad* (1987, 7–8) and in Slí Colmcille's Ir. *Dún Ad*, ScG *Dùn Ad*.¹⁶

§5 SCG *DÙN AD* – SCOTS/ENG. *DUNADD*

It seems, therefore, that the modern Gaelic form of the name of the fort should be taken to be *Dùn Ad*, with /ad/ [at̪], i.e. with a short vowel in the specific element, although this is sporadically half-long in the local dialect. As far as the Scots/English form *Dunadd* is concerned, the final double *-dd* is mirrored in the nearby name *Badden* from ScG (*Am*) *Badan* '(the) thicket; (the) grove' (OS six inch 1843–82), from ScG *bad* m. + diminutive suffix *-an*.

§6 OG *DÚN AT*

Given the annalistic forms AU *Att*, *At* and AT *Ad* (§3, above), and given ScG *Ad* and Scots/Eng. *Add* (§§4–5, above), a progression of sorts in the written forms might be sought, but this would only be valid if the phonetic values of those forms matched the historical development of sounds from one linguistic period to another within the one language or from one language to another. However, OG orthographic *Att*, *At* and *Ad* do not formally equate with each other: they represent different phonemes (distinctive units in terms of meaning) in the language and only one of them can formally be correct in terms of representing the pronunciation at the time (see Appendix).

Following a broad vowel, post-stress double OG *-tt* nominally indicates OG voiceless /t/ *[t̪], which yields fortis or preaspirated *-t* /t/ [t̪]^h in Scottish Gaelic, e.g. OG *catt* (< L *cattus*) > ScG *cat* /kat/ [k^ha^(h)t̪] 'cat';¹⁷ post-stress single OG *-t* nominally indicates voiced /d/ *[d̪], which yields lenis or unaspirated *-d* /d/ [d̪] in Scottish Gaelic, e.g. OG *fot*, *fat* > ScG *fad* 'length';¹⁸ while post-stress single OG *-d* nominally indicates a voiced dental fricative /ð/ *[ð̪], which yields a velar fricative /ɣ/ [ɣ̪] (written *-dh*) in Scottish Gaelic, e.g. OG *fid* 'tree; wood' > ScG *fiodh* 'wood'. Scribes, however, were not always consistent, as indicated by the variation *Ad*, *At*, *Att* of the annals. Nevertheless, a modern Gaelic *ad* /ad/ [at̪] would be expected to derive – all other things be equal – from an OG *at* /ad/ *[a̪], the form mirrored in AU 736 *Dun At*, rather than from AU 683 (gen.) *Duin Att* or AT 736 *Dun Ad*.

16 <http://www.gaidhlig.colmcille.org/earra-ghaidheal/6-01-30/8/17>.

17 Unhelpfully, besides *-tt*, single *-t* is occasionally used to indicate voiceless /t/; further, *-tt* is occasionally used to indicate voiced /d/.

18 Further, double *-dd* is occasionally used to indicate voiced /d/.

Fig. 2

OG		ScG	
<-tt>	/t/ *[t̪]	<-t>	/t/ [t̪][^h t̪]
<-t>	/d/ *[d̪]	<-d>	/d/ [d̪]
<-d>	/ð/ *[ð̪]	<-dh>	/ɣ/ [ɣ̪]

§7 A DERIVATION FROM SCG *FADA* ‘LONG’

Early opinion on the origin of the name focused on the location of the *dùn* in proximity to the present-day course of the (River) Add. Skene ventures that the *dùn* took its name from the river, identifying the latter with Ptolemy’s *Longus fl[uvius]*, although this is now generally accepted to be Loch Linnhe.¹⁹ Skene interprets Ptolemy’s *Longus fl[uvius]* as ‘long river’, which Skene (I, 68) then renders as *Avon Fhada*, i.e. ScG *Abhainn Fhada* ‘long river’, suggesting that the final element might be a contraction of lenited ScG *fhada* (with silent *fh*) – but this is dismissed by Watson (1926, 45) on phonological grounds (§4, above).²⁰

Folk etymology yields the modern Gaelic form *Dùn Fhad* (e.g. Stiùbhart 2005, 27); this is predicated upon Skene’s notional form for the river, i.e. (*An*) *Abhainn Fhada*, an etymology which is at least as old as the late 17th century: *abuīn Fhada*, i.e. *Abhainn Fhada* (Niall MacMhuirich in *Reliquiae Celtica* II, 162); cf. Gillies (1906, xxii) who writes ‘**Dun-Add**, named upon the river Add (which is really **Fada**, *long*, with **f** aspirated away), *the fort upon the (river) Add*’; so also Johnston (1903, 109): *dùn fhada* ‘long hill’ or ‘fort’.

However, while lenition of an attributive adjective is expected after (radical case) feminine *abhainn*, no explanation is offered by proponents of the folk etymology for the lenition of *fada* after (radical case) masculine²¹ *dùn*; the reason why *fada* (OG *fota*, *fata*) has undergone apocope in this context, yielding **fad*, is also unexplained.²²

19 Thomas (1875) superimposed Ptolemy’s cartographical distances on a modern map, identifying Loch Linnhe, an identification endorsed by Rivet & Smith 1979, 141, and Isaac 2004. Indeed, the major cleft that marks the beginning of the Great Glen was overtly far more relevant to early cartographers than Crinan Bay, which is diminutive by comparison.

20 MacKenzie (1931, 87 and 100) suggests that ‘Add’, along with several other stream names, simply means ‘water’ but offers nothing to support his hypothesis.

21 Or neuter: OG *dún* was formerly neuter, later masculine.

22 The final schwa **[ə]* in the form *Dùn Ada* given in the dictionary *Am Faclair Beag* (<http://www.faclair.com/>) may have arisen in partial response to this folk etymology,

§8 CONFUSION WITH ISLAY'S *DÙN ATHAD*

Dwelly's dictionary (1902–11) gives the form *Dùn Athad* for Dunadd; so also Taylor 2011, and this is the form used in a comparatively recent online article on the poet Iain MacLachlainn.²³ There seems to be no support, however, for a disyllabic form *Athad* at Crinan, either in historical forms, in literature, or in similar traces of the river name. It is possible that the modern variant form arose through confusion with the Islay name *Dùn Athad* (also *Dunad*, Thomson 1824), of a hillfort (NR 2849 4070) on a promontory six miles SW of Port Ellen, cited by the poet Uilleam MacDhùnLèibhe (1882, 5 and 201²⁴) and, slightly earlier, in an article on a botanical excursion to the island in 1844 (Balfour 1845, 39: 'Dunad or Dùn Athad'²⁵). However, the extant Islay fortification appears to be of relatively recent construction, and the form of its name may be no more than a latter-day (mis-)commemoration of Dunadd itself (Macniven 2015, 84²⁶), although this would leave the provenance of the form *Athad* at Crinan unaccounted for.

§9 A DERIVATION FROM OG *ÁTH* 'FORD'

OG *áth* 'ford' (ScG *àth* 'ford; isthmus or bridge of land between two sheets of water'²⁷) + suffix of place or moving water,²⁸ is potentially suitable from a

cf. /ɸu:n 'aɸ/ and /ɸu:n 'aɸə/ (Nils Holmer's notebooks; with thanks to Jacob King and Àdhamh Ó Broin).

23 John MacLachlann of Rahoy, Morven: *ged a bhuineadh e do Cloinn Ic Lachlainn Dhùn Athad an meadhan Earra-Ghàidheal* ('though he belonged to the MacLachlans of Dùn Athad in Mid-Argyll') http://www.bbc.co.uk/alba/oran/people/lighiche_iain_maclachlainn_rathuaidh/-30/8/17/.

24 William Livingstone of Islay in 'Na Lochlannaich an Ìle' ('the Norse in Islay'): (gen.) *Bha 'm freiceadan air Mùr Dhùn-athad* ('the watch was on the wall of *Dùn Athad*'); and in 'Rannan do Uilleam Mac Ille Chrìosd' ('stanzas to Uilleam Mac Ille Chrìosd'): (voc.) *a Dhùn Ard-Athad* ('O fort of high *Athad*').

25 Dwelly includes several forms provided by Watson in his list of place-names, but his *Dùn Athad* is not marked as one of them; he may have acquired the form from Balfour's article.

26 The Canmore database states that 'The natural advantages of this site may have invited fortification from prehistoric or Early Historic times' (<https://canmore.org.uk/site/37290/islay-dun-athad#812104>) and the prominence may well have been inhabited in earlier times.

27 Cf. (Isle of Lewis) *Dùn Àtha* 'the (rocky) mound of the isthmus' (Cox 2002, 272), with gen. sg. of *àth*.

28 ScG *-(a)id/-id*, e.g. *Blathaid* (Watson 1904, 198; Eng. *Blaad*) < OG **Bláit* with OG *blá* 'green, field; place'. For further examples, see Watson, *ibid.*, xxxviii; Watson 1926, 444–45; (Fife) Taylor with Márkus V, 287.

topographical point of view. An *áth* + suffixed *t* would spontaneously yield /ɑ:t/ *[ɑ:t̪] in Old Gaelic, with simplification of the consonant cluster – cf. OG *nerta* for **nertta* from **nerthta*, gen. of *nerthath*, *nerthad* ‘strengthening’ (Thurneyson 1972, 87) – but retaining a long vowel, as in ScG *Ràtagan* with /ɑ:t/ [ɑ:t̪] (Eng. *Ratagan*, Ross-shire) < OG *ráth* ‘fort’ + dental suffix + suffixes -*óc* + -*án* (Watson 1904, 172), and so can be dismissed.

§10 A DERIVATION FROM OG *ATT* ‘SWELLING, PROTUBERANCE’

OG *att* is a topographically suitable candidate; it denotes a ‘swelling’ or ‘protuberance’ or – it might be inferred – an ‘outcrop’ or ‘promontory’, and would simply have been descriptive of the particular topography: an outcrop on the former estuarine flats of Crinan Moss.

However, the phonological evidence argues that an OG **Att* would yield ScG **At* /at/ [a^ht̪], which is impossible to reconcile with Scottish Gaelic *Dùn Ad* and its modern pronunciation or with any other documented Gaelic forms of the name.

§11 A DERIVATION FROM OG *ATT* ‘HEAD-COVERING, HAT, HOOD, HELMET’

ON *hatr*, *hōtr* m. ‘hat; (in place-names) round hill’ yields OG *att* m. ‘head-covering, hat, hood, helmet’ (*DIL*, s.v.; Marstrander 1915, 30, 98), with Old Norse long -*tt* yielding an expected double -*tt* /t/ *[t̪] in Old Gaelic, and employing one of a number of strategies used over time for dealing with Old Norse loans in initial *h-*, here with loss of the aspirate.

OG *att* is found in various compounds in Old Gaelic, e.g. *clocat* ‘helmet’, *gallat* ‘foreign helmet’, *máelat* ‘chain-mail hood’, where an original voiceless dental as final of a stressed syllable yields a voiced dental as final of an unstressed syllable in compound, e.g. OG *cloc* + *att* > OG *clocat*, which yields ScG *clogad* m. regularly.²⁹

OG *att* would be expected to yield ScG **at* with fortis or preaspirated -*t* /t/ [t̪][^ht̪]. Accordingly, ScG *ad(a)* f. ‘hat’, with final /d/ [t̪], is most probably a borrowing from Scots *hat*, although the former may conceivably have been influenced by the final of *clogad*³⁰ itself and of the semantically-related loan-

29 With compounds from OG *cloc* ‘bell’ (ScG *clag*, *clog*) + *att*; OG *gall* ‘foreigner’ (ScG *idem*) + *att*; OG *máel* ‘cropped head > crown of head’ (ScG *maol*) + *att*. For OG *clocat* and related issues, see Ó Cuiv 1976. Cf. Latin *sagitta* > OG *saiget* > ScG *saighead* ‘arrow’.

30 Feminine ScG *ad(a)* may have been the impetus for the initial rise of feminine instances of ScG *clogad*, which in turn yielded *clogaid* (through the nominativisation of the feminine dative form *clogaid*).

word *bonaid* 'bonnet' – otherwise ScG **at(a)* would have been forthcoming, cf. *còta* < Eng. *coat*.³¹

Given the above, a phonological link between ScG *ad(a)* and OG *att* cannot be made. In addition, there is no evidence to suggest that an original OG *att* yielded ScG *at* (regularly) and then *ad* through phonemic substitution³² once *ad* 'hat' had become standard in the language.³³

§12 CONCLUSION

While it might be argued on the basis of antiquity that AU *Att* is the authoritative historical form and that it would yield modern Gaelic **At*, which could mean 'swelling' etc., which would be topographically appropriate, one would have to accept that all Scottish Gaelic renditions of the name, written and otherwise, are aberrations, as well as Scots/Eng. *Add*.

The cut of Occam's razor would favour identifying AU *At* as the probable authoritative Old Gaelic form because of the modern Gaelic renditions of the name and, subsequently, Scots/Eng. *Add*, a scenario allowing for annalistic scribes to have used *Att* in error for *At* at one time and, innovatively, *Ad* for *At* at another.

Without evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that there is a phonological link between the Old Gaelic and modern Gaelic forms. The modern Gaelic pronunciation suggests that AU *At*, rather than AU *Att*, is the appropriate Old Gaelic spelling of the second element in our name, while orthographic innovation seems to be present in AT *Ad*, for former *At*.

Accordingly, all the derivations posited above can be dismissed on linguistic grounds for one reason or another: (§7) OG *fota*, *fata* 'long', with lenition and apocope unaccounted for; (§9) OG *áth* 'ford' + suffixed *-t*, which would yield a long vowel and a fortis or preaspirated consonant in modern Gaelic; (§10) OG

31 Modern Ir. *hata* derives from Eng. *hat*, cf. Ir. *cóta* < Eng. *coat*. (It should be noted that the development of Old Gaelic (and Old Norse) to Scottish Gaelic, on the one hand, and the development of Scots and modern English to Scottish Gaelic (in particular the development of plosives), on the other, do not always follow the same patterns.)

32 Cox 2009, 19–25; 19, n. 10.

33 Despite the semantic and phonological similarities between the etymologically distinct OG *att* 'swelling' and OG *att* 'hat', any apparent link is fortuitous – in the same way that the apparent link between the etymologically distinct Eng. *cape* 'promontory' and Eng. *cap* 'hat' is: Eng. *cape* being an adaptation of Fr. *cap* 'head', ultimately from Lat. *caput* 'head', Eng. *cap* (via OE *cæppe*) having been adopted from late Lat. *cappe* 'cap, head-covering' (*OED*).

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att ‘protuberance’ and (§11) OG *att* ‘hat’, both of which would yield a fortis or preaspirated consonant in modern Gaelic.

Given the distinctive topographical history of the area, it is tempting to see the transmutation from the annalistic forms *Att*, *At* and *Ad* to modern ScG *Ad* and Scots/Eng. *Add* as supporting a derivation of the final element in our name from OG *att* ‘swelling’ > ‘protuberance’. However, our central conclusion is that ScG *Dùn Ad* (yielding Scots/Eng. *Dunadd*) results from an earlier OG *Dún At*, a development which neither supports a derivation from the phonologically distinct OG *att* ‘swelling’ nor from any of the other proposed derivations discussed above. Because the fortification was first inhabited in around 300 BCE (Lane and Campbell 2000a; 2000b), conceivably before the arrival of the Dalriadic Scots or Gaels, it seems plausible that the Gaels adopted an earlier, Pictish or Brittonic, name for the *dùn*.³⁴

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³⁴ As Wainwright (1955, 30) poses, ‘Was Dunadd a Pictish fortress before the Scots settled in Argyll?’

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APPENDIX

While the language of AU 683, AU 736 and AT 736 is Latin, the forms of the name Dunadd in these entries are cited using Gaelic orthography. This conclusion is supported by similar usage employed for other Scottish or presumed Scottish fort or stronghold names cited between 638–736, during which time 'Scottish events are recorded .. with progressively greater detail' and after which time Iona input to the annals is thought to cease (Bannerman 1974, 9–11):³⁵

³⁵ The following is based on Bannerman's list (1974, 15, n. 39), before presenting which he notes that 'AT will not be consulted on this point, for they have been tampered with to a considerable degree. An extreme example is the transliteration of some of the entries, which in AU are in Latin, into Irish.' Names from AT with parallels in AU

1. AU 712 *obsesio Aberte* is understood to contain the genitive of a name denoting modern English *Dunaverty* (Watson 1926, 236–37), containing the genitive of the Old Gaelic man's name *Ábartach*. An original *[*Dún*] *Ábartaig* or *Ábertig* (with fricatives *b* [β] and *g* [ɣ]) yields ScG *Dùn Ábhartaich*. For the omission of *dún*, cf. nos. 2, 3, 10.

2. AU 736 *combussit Creic* AT 736 *combussit Creic* contains an accusative name form equated by Skene with *Creich*, Mull (Skene 1867, cxxxi) but later on with the remains of an otherwise unnamed fort on the Craignis promontory, Argyll (Skene 1876 I, 290). Potentially, this might be the accusative of an OG **Crec* '[the] rock' (cf. modern ScG *creag*). For the potential omission of *dún*, cf. nos. 1, 3, 10.

3. AU 638 *obsesio Etin* is recorded in the Pictish Chronicle as *oppidum Eden*, the modern ScG *Dùn Èideann*, Dunedin or Edinburgh, 'which correctly represents OW *Eitin*, and [OG] *Etin*' (Watson 1926, 340–42). For the omission of *dún*, cf. nos. 1, 2, 10. For the dental consonant, see no. 15, below.

4. AU 683 *obsessio Dúin Duirn* is understood to denote modern English *Dundurn*, Loch Earn (Watson 1926, 488), with the genitive of an OG **Dún Duirn* 'the fort of the fist', with gen. sg. of *dorn* m.; so ScG *Dùn Dùirn*.

5. AU 681 *obsessio Duin Foither*; AU 694 *obsesio Duin Fother* is understood to denote modern English *Dunottar*, Stonehaven (Watson 1926, 509–12), with the genitive of an of an OG **Dún Foither* 'the fort of the slopes', with gen. pl. of OG *foither*; representable by a modern ScG **Dùn F(h)oithear*.

6. AU 734 *Dun Leithfinn distruitur* contains an unidentified name form, but the specific element of a nominative OG **Dún Léithfinn* or **Dún Léith Finn* (with lenited *f*-) might consist of the genitive of an OG **Liath Finn*, with *liath* m. 'grey place'³⁶ + *finn* adj. 'white; light-coloured; small'.

7. AU 686 *combusit Tula Aman Duin Ollaigh*; AU 698 *combusti(o) Duin Onlaigh*; AU 701 *distructio Duin Onlaigh*; AU 714 *Dun Ollaigh construitur*; AT 714 *Dun Ollaig construitur* (see note 35, above); AU 734 *iuxta Arcem Ollaigh*

are, however, cited below, and show some innovation in Gaelic orthography, viz (no. 12, below) AU *Credi* : AT *Credhi* (MS *credi*) marking lenition; (no. 14) AU *A<i>len* : AT *Ail[l]ean* marking the non-palatal quality of the final consonant; and (no. 15) AU *Att*, *At* : AT *Ad* in which /d/ is represented by *d*, while *d* = /ð/ is now rendered *dh* in (no. 12) AT *Credhi*; on the other hand, (no. 7) AU *Ollaigh* (MS *Ollaig*.) marks lenition : AT *Ollaig* does not – though only in the sense that the contraction in MS *Oll* is interpreted as *aig*, rather than as *aig*.

36 For the colour's use in Irish place-names, see Joyce 1893, 284–85.

contain a name form understood to denote modern English *Dunollie*, Oban (Watson 1926, 508–09), and in each case (notwithstanding the Latin acc. *arcem* ‘fortification’ in AU 734) represents the genitive of an OG **Dún O(n)llaig*, perhaps with the genitive of a masculine personal name **O(n)llach*. An OG **Dún O(n)llaig* would be expected to yield modern ScG **Dùn Òllaich* or **Dùn Amhlaich* or similar,³⁷ and the current ScG form *Dùn Olla* suggests that any original nasal consonant (or replacement long vowel) has been lost due to some folk etymology or due to the influence of the English form.

8. AU 712 *combustio Tairpirt Boitter*; AU 731 *combustio Tairpirt Boittir* has been equated with modern English *Tarbert*, Loch Fyne (Bannerman 1974, 113), and may represent an OG **Tairbert Boittir*. OG *tairbert*, whose original sense ‘carrying’ has been extended to ‘isthmus, a tongue of land between two sheets of water’, is frequent in place-names in Scotland. **Boittir* is obscure, although it looks enticingly like it might derive from an OG **báitte + tír* ‘flooded ground’³⁸ but, even were such a compound relevant, there seems to be no reason not to have expected **báittir*.³⁹

9. AU 680 *obsesio Duin Baitte*, with the genitive of an OG **Dún Baitte*, is compared by Bannerman (1974, 16, n. 8) with acc. *Dún mBáithe* found in the medieval tale ‘Scéla Cano Meic Gartnáin’ (Binchy 1975, 68⁴⁰), but *-th-* would not have derived from *-tt-*.

10. AU 641 *obsesio Rithe*; AU 703 *obsessio Rithe* contains an unidentified genitive name form. For the potential omission of *dún*, cf. nos. 1, 2, 3.

11. AU 692 *obsesio Duin Deauē Diksi* contains an unidentified genitive name form, although Reeves (1857, 378 e) suggests (nom.) ‘Dun-Deauē’ is possibly *Dundaff*, Stirling.

12. AU 728 *iuxta Castellum Credi*; AT 728 *iter Picardachaib ac Caislen*

37 Cf. the ScG man’s name *Amhlaigh* < ON *Óláfr* via ON **Á^hlaifr* (Cox 2007, 141 + n. 5).

38 With the verbal adjective of OG *báidid*, also *báthaid*, ‘he drowns’; cf. ScG *Bàideanach* (Eng. *Badenoch*; Watson 1926, 118), in which an original *-t(t)* has been voiced in juxtaposition to the suffix *n-*, before the development of an epenthetic vowel.

39 Blaeu’s *The Battle Yle*, denoting a boat-shaped islet in East Loch Tarbert, is apparently preserved in the soubriquet George Campbell Hay uses to sign his poem *Aisling* (‘a vision’) in the periodical *An Gàidheal* (XXXV.1, 12; Byrne 2000 I, 6–5, II, 100); *Eilean A’ Chomhraig* (sic; ‘the island of the battle’). However, the islet is named *Eilean a’ Chòca* ‘the island of the boat’ on the OS 6 inch to 1 mile map.

40 Modern Ir. *Dún Baoi*, Eng. *Dunboy* – Cox and Ó Baoill 2015, 16, n. 8.

Credhi (see note 35, above) contain an unidentified name, although AU 728 is translated by MacAirt and MacNiocaill as ‘near Caissel Créidi’, i.e. with an OG **Caisel Créidi* ‘the castle of *Créidhe*’, with gen. of the woman’s name. AT employs the diminutive form of the generic, i.e. *caislén*.⁴¹

13. AU 725 *Ailen m[aic] Craich costruitur*; AT 725 *Ailen Maic Craich costruitur* contain an unidentified name translated by MacAirt and MacNiocaill as ‘the [fortified] island of *Craich*’s son’. The generic here is OG *ailén* ‘island’⁴², which O’Sullivan (2004, 5) renders ‘crannog’ in English, cf. no. 14.

14. AT 703 *Ailleán Daingean aedificatur*; AU 714 *Alen Daingen destruitur* contains an unidentified name, referred to as ‘an unknown crannog’ by O’Sullivan (2004, 5). From a Gaelic point of view, the specific element must be the Old Gaelic adjective *daingen* ‘fortified’ etc., ScG *daingean*. Possibly, we are dealing with an appellative rather than a place-name here, viz OG **ailén daingen* ‘a fortified crannog’. For the generic, cf. no. 13.

15. AU 683 *obsesio Duin Att*; AU 736 *obtenuit Dun At*; AT 736 *obtenuit Dun Ad*. The evidence from nos. 1–14, above, suggests that the place-names cited in the entries concerned are, with two minor exceptions, cited entirely using Gaelic orthography. The minor exceptions (in nos. 7 and 12) are simply the substitution of Latin words – *castellum* for *caiséil*; *arx* for *dún* – following use of the Latin preposition *iuxta* ‘near’, while the specifics themselves are still cited in Gaelic orthography.

It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that **Dún At* in AU and AT is also written using Gaelic orthography. The representation by *-t* of post-stress OG /d/ **[t̪]* is not, unfortunately, always consistent (§6, above), hence AU 683 (gen.) *Duin Att*; AU 736 (acc.) *Dun At*; AT 736 (acc.) *Dun Ad* – with which inconsistency we may compare AU 736 (gen.) *Dail Riatai*; AM⁴³ 2859.2 (dat.) *Dál Riada*; AM 165.1 (nom.) *Dál Riata*; and AM 572.3 (gen.) *Dal Riatta*. In both of these names, what became ScG *-d* in modern *Dùn Ad* and *Dàl Riada* would have been formally represented by *-t* in Old Gaelic, i.e. *Dún At* and *Dál Riata*; while, in the later Annals of Tigernach, the use of *-d* in the one name – i.e. AT 736 *Dun Ad* – is

41 Ir. and ScG *caisel* derive from Lat. *castellum* (Mc Manus 1983, 65); EG *caistéil* (so ScG *caisteal* with open [a] in the second syllable) derives from Anglo-Norman (Vendryes C–23).

42 From which, rounding dominates in modern Ir. *oileán*, but raising in modern ScG *eilean*.

43 AM = Annals of the Four Masters.

mirrored by the use of *-d* in the other name in all cases but one – viz AT 673 (gen.) *Dail Riata* – thus AT 717, 733 (gen.) *Dal Riada*; AT 723 (gen.) *Dal Ríada*; AT 731 (acc.) *Dal Riada*; AT 733, 736 (gen.) *Dail Riada*; see note 35, above.⁴⁴

The orthographic innovation in the representation of a post-vocalic dental stop from *-t* in Old Gaelic to *-d* in the later language is further seen in the development of OG [*Dún*] *Etin* to ScG *Dùn Èideann* (no. 3, above).

44 OG *Dál Riata* (ScG *Dàl Riada*; Scots/Eng. *Dalriada*) ‘the tribal territory of *Riata*’, a ‘[p]roto-kingdom of Northern Ireland that later flourished in Gaelic Scotland’, with the specific element from ‘the mythological ancestor *Eochu Riata*’ (MacKillop 1998, 113).